

Message Text

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SUBJECT: CONTROVERSY CONTINUES OVER THE COMMUTATION OF THE
DEATH PENALTY FOR THE THREE JUNTA LEADERS

1. SUMMARY: THE OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE LAUNCHED
AN INTENSE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT'S
ANNOUNCED INTENT TO COMMUTE THE DEATH SENTENCES FOR THE THREE
JUNTA LEADERS. CENTER UNION/NEW FORCES (CU/NF) LEADER MAVROS
HAS BEEN ESPECIALLY OUTSPOKEN AND CONTINUES TO CALL FOR A
SPECIAL SESSION OF PARLIAMENT TO DEAL WITH THE GOG'S DECISION.
FOR ITSPART, TTE GOVERNMENT HAS ACCUSED THE OPPOSITION OF
IRRESPONSIBLE CRITICISM AND OF ATTEMPTING TO CREATE
INSTABILITY. IN DEFENDING THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION, GOVERNMENT
SPOKESMEN STRESSED THAT THE OOVERNMENT ACTED QUICKLY IN ORDER TO
PREVENT "DANGEROUS REACTIONS" (WHICH ONE SPOKESMAN ACKNOWLEDGED
COULD INCLUDE DANGEROUS ACTIVITY BY MILITARY OFFICERS)
TO THE DEATT SENTENCES. SO FAR THE ONLY PUBLIC MANI-
FESTATION OF POPULAR DISPLEASURE WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S
ACTION HAS BEEN A SMALL, NON-VIOLENT STUDENT DEMONSTRA-
TION ON AUGUST 25 AT THE UNIVERSITY. END SUMMARY.

2. THE HOT DEBATE OVER THE DECISION OF THE CARAMANLIS

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GOVERNMENT TO COMMUTE THE DEATH SENTENCES OF FORMER
JUNTA LEADERS PAPADOPOULOS, PATTAKOS AND MAKAREZOS,
COMING AS IT DID SO QUICKLY ON THE HEELS OF THE
SENTENCING OF THE DEFENDANTS BY THE APPEALS COURT,

CONTINUES TO CTARGE THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE. CU/NF
LEADER GEORGE MAVROS HAS BEEN ONE OF THE CHIEF CRITICS.
HE CALLED THE GOVERNMENT'S P
ECIPITIOUS ACTION A TRAVESTY
OF JUSTICE WHICH INFRINGED ON THE SEPARATION OF POWERS.
THE DEFENDANTS STILL HAVE RECOURSE TO THE SUPREME
COURT, HE SAID, AND THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION HAS IN
EFFECT INVALIDATED THAT RECOURSE. FURTHERMORE, HE
SAID, IT IS THE PRESIDENT, NOT THE CABINET, WHO HAS
THE ULTIMATE COMPETENCE TO COMMUTE THE SENTENCES.
MOREOVER,
THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION CANNOT HELP BUT HAVE
AN IMPACT ON VARIOUS OTHER ONGOING OR FUTURE TRIALS.

3. MAVROS AGAIN CATLED FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE
PARLIAMENT TO DEAL WITH THIS SERIOUS MATTER (AS WELL AS
AND, PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO DISCUSS THE CYPRUS
SITUATION IN VIEW OF THE FORTHCOMING INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS
IN NEW YORK). MAVROS PLANS TO SEND A LETTER TO THE
PRIME MINISTER WITHIN THE NEXT TWO DAYS REPEATING THIS
DEMAND FOR A SPECIAL SESSION.

4. PAN-HELLENIC SOCIALIST MOVEMENT (PASOK) PRESIDENT
PAPANDREOU HAS LIKEWISE CONTINUED HIS CRITICISM OF THE
GOVERNMENT'S ACTION. PRESENTLY TRAVELING IN RHODES,
HE HAS BEEN CATEGORIC IN STATING THAT THE DEATH
SENTENCES SHOULD BE EXECUTED. ATTACKING CARAMANLIS
PERSONALLY, PAPANDREOU CHARGED THAT WHILE THE PRIME
MINISTER "DID NOT GIVE IN TO THEPRESSUES OF THE
AMERICANS AND THE MILITARY, HE CARRIED OUT HIS OWN
POLITICAL PLAN, WHICH IS THE REORGANIZATION OF THE OLD
STATE OF THE RIGHT WING." CONTRARY TO THE POPULARLY HELD
BELIEF THAT THE GOG WAS MOTIVATED PRIMARILY BY
PRESSURE FROM THE ARMED FORCES IN COMMUTING THE
SENTENCES, PAPANDREOU IS REPORTED TO HAVE STATED
THAT THE ARMED FORCES WOULD HAVE BEEN PLEASED TO
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SEE THREE OR EVEN THIRTEEN DEFENDANTS LED BEFORE THE
FIRING SQUAD IN ORDER TO RID THE MILITARY OF THE
REPRE-
HENSIBLE PAST OF THE DICTATORSHIP.

TM THE COMMUNIST PARTY-EXTERIOR SIMILARLY HAS LEVIED A
BARRAGE OF CRITICISM. ITS PRESS ORGAN RIZOPASTIS ALSO
CALLED FOR THE EXECUTION OF THE DEATH PENALTY AND RAISED
THE SPECTER OF AMERICAN INFLUENCEON THE GOVERNMENT'S
DECISION, SAYING THAT THE GOG'S ACTION WAS IN RESPONSE
TO THE DEMANDS OF ITS AMERICANAND NATO IMPERIALIST
PATRONS. THE COMMUNIST PARTY-INTERIOR ALSO ATTACKED

THE HASTE WITH WHICH THE GOG ACTED TO REPRIEVE THE JUNTA LEADERS FROM CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND SAW THIS AS PROOF THAT THE MECHANISMS OF AMERICAN AND JUNTA CONTROL CONTINUE TO FUNCTION IN GREECE. AN EDA SPOKESMAN CLAIMED THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION SHOWS IT HAS COMMITMENTS TO FOREIGNERS.

6. THE CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT HAS ISSUED SEVERAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS EXPLAINING ITS ACTION, AND JUSTICE MINISTER STEFANAKIS AND UNDER SECRETARY FOR PRESS AND INFORMATION LAMBRIAS HELD A NEWS CONFERENCE THE EVENING OF AUGUST 25 IN AN ATTEMPT TO CLARIFY FURTHER THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION. FOLLOWING THE CABINET MEETING YESTERDAY, AUGUST 25, A GOVERNMENT STATEMENT WAS RELEASED ACCUSING "CERTAIN CIRCLES" OF TRYING TO INCITE PASSIONS AND CREATE ANXIETIES. CONTENDING THAT REPORTS THE GOVERNMENT HAD ACTED IN RESPONSE TO OUTSIDE PRESSURES WERE GROUNDLESS, THE STATEMENT SAID THAT, ON THE CONTRARY, THE GOVERNMENT HAD ACTED OUT OF RESPONSIBILITY AND HAD TAKEN A DEFINITE STAND ON THE SENTENCES TO BLOCK THE DEVELOPMENT OF "UNCONTROLLABLE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 ATHENS 001

SUPPORTERS WHO FIND HIS SOCIALIST-NEUTRALIST "WAVE-OF-THE-FUTURE" PHILOSOPHY SEDUCTIVE. NEVERTHELESS WE BELIEVE HE WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO HAVE REAL PROBLEMS IN ATTRACTING ADHERENTS, GIVEN HIS MERCURIAL POLICIES AND HIS EXPOSURE TO THE NECESSITY OF CONVINCING OTHERS THAT HE HAS A VIABLE PROGRAM, WHETHER VIEWED IN EXCLUSIVELY GREEK TERMS OR TAKING BROADER INTERNATIONAL HORIZONS INTO ACCOUNT. AT THE SAME TIME PAPANDREOU HAS POURED WATER IN HIS WINE AS

GREEK REMARK, AND HE COULD IMPROVE PASOK'S POSITION
RELATIVE TO ANTICIPATED FRACTIONALIZATION IN
TRADITIONAL PARTIES WHICH MAY REEMERGE IN COMING
MONTHS.

7. MAVROS' LEADERSHIP OF CU/NF IS UNDER CHALLENGE
BY NEW FORCE DEPUTIES WHO DESCRIBE HIM AS "OVER THE
HILL".

8. IF CARAMANLIS SHOULD CHOOSE TO BECOME PRESIDENT
AND ND IS FACED WITH PROSPECT OF CHOOSING BETWEEN ND
STALWARTS GEORGE RALLIS AND EVANGELOS AVEROFF FOR
PRIME MINISTER, PARTY WOULD PROBABLY BE FURTHER
DIVIDED. FIRST SYMPTOMS OF POTENTIAL PROBLEM IN
ND UNITY CAME AFTER REFERENDUM WHEN SMALL NUMBER OF
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RAYALIST DEPUTIES BROKE PARTY RANKS IN VOTING AGAINST
THE ND CANDIDATE FOR PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT WHILE
SEVERAL OTHERS ONLY RELUCTANTLY FELL IN LINE AT THE
ELEVENTH HOUR.

9. IN ANY EVENT, MAIN POINT IS THAT POLITICAL
PARTIES ARE RESHAPING, WITH MEN WHO HAVE GUIDED
NATIONAL PUBLIC LIFE SINCE EARLY 50'S GRADUALLY
BEING SUCCEEDED BY YOUNGER LEADERS WHOSE QUALITIES
AND CAPACITY FOR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP REMAIN UNTESTED.
CARAMANLIS HIMSELF HAS CONSCIOUSLY PUT YOUNGER MEN
IN AS SECRETARIES GENERAL AND CLEARLY LOOKS
FORWARD TO A "NEW DAY" IN GREEK POLITICAL LIFE BASED
ON REGENERATIVE EFFECT OF NEW BLOOD. MUCH WILL
DEPEND UPON EXTENT TO WHICH REVISED CONSTITUTION
AND NOW ENVISAGED PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS CAN CREATE
AND ENCOURAGE PRACTICE OF CONSTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION,
HITHERTO ALMOST UNKNOWN IN GREEK POLITICAL VORTEX.

10. THE CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT IS SEARCHING FOR A
RELATIONSHIP WITH NATO WHICH PRESERVES AS MUCH AS
POSSIBLE OF THE BENEFITS OF FULL MEMBERSHIP WHILE
VISIBLY SEPARATING GREECE FROM THE INTEGRATED MILITARY
STRUCTURE. THE DIALOGUE WITH NATO WILL NOT BE RUSHED
BY THE GOG, WHICH STILL BELIEVES THAT ITS IMPLIED
WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER MILITARY REINTEGRATION IN
NATO WILL LEAD THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER MAJOR
NATO COUNTRIES TO MODIFY THEIR POLICIES ON THE
CYPRUS ISSUE IN GREECE'S FAVOR. ALTHOUGH AN
ATTENUATED GREECE/NATO RELATIONSHIP IS ALMOST CERTAIN
TO RESULT, IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT THE GOG WILL WISH TO
KEEP NAMFI ACTIVE AND COMPLETE NAWTC. THE PROSPECTS FOR RETURN

TO PRE-JULY 1974 STATUS OF NICS AND NADGE

ARE LESS SURE SINCE THEY DEPEND UPON IMPROVEMENTS
IN GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP.

11. A RESTRUCTURED SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE
UNITED STATES WILL EMERGE FROM GREEK-U.S. NEGOTIATIONS
LIKELY TO START EARLY IN 1975. THIS WILL PROBABLY
INITIALLY TAKE THE FORM OF A HIGHLY VISIBLE DECISION TO
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REDUCE THE SCALE AND SCOPE OF THE U.S. MILITARY
PRESENCE, WITH IMPLEMENTATION TO FOLLOW ON A
REASONABLE TIMETABLE. SUBSEQUENTLY, NEGOTIATIONS ON
DETAILS OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WILL BE MARKED BY
GOG EFFORTS TO ASSERT CONTROL OVER OPERATIONAL
ACTIVITIES OF U.S. FORCES, TO ELIMINATE ANY FINANCIAL
BURDEN FOR GOG FROM U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE, AND TO
REDUCE SIGNIFICANTLY THE PRIVILEGES HERETOFORE ENJOYED
BY U.S. PERSONNEL, ALL DESIGNED TO CONVINCE GREEK
PUBLIC THAT GOG IS IMPLEMENTING ITS DECISION TO
"RECOVER...FULL EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY" OVER
GREEK TERRITORY, AIRSPACE, AND TERRITORIAL WATERS.
AS WITH NATO DIALOGUE, GOG CAN BE EXPECTED TO USE
WHAT IT PERCEIVES AS U.S. APPREHENSION OVER POSSIBLE
LOSS OF FACILITIES TO INFLUENCE U.S. POLICY ON CYPRUS
ISSUE. THE SAME GOG PERCEPTION WILL CONTINUE TO MARK
GREEK EFFORTS TO EXTRACT FROM USG THE WHREWITHAL
NEEDED RAPIDLY TO MODERNIZE GREECE'S INVENTORY OF
MILITARY EQUIPMENT, PERHAPS TAKING THE FORM OF A
DIRECT QUID FOR THE QUO OF CONTINUED, IF REDUCED,
U.S. BASE RIGHTS.

12. MAJOR DOMESTIC ISSUE CONFRONTING CARAMANLIS'
ADMINISTRATION REMAINS RECONCILIATION OF ARMED FORCES
AND PUBLIC. GOG THROUGH SELECTIVE PROCESS OF
INVESTIGATION AND TRIAL OF CHIEF CULPRITS WITH
POSSIBLE CRIMINAL LIABILITY HAS LAUNCHED LEGAL CASE
AGAINST THOSE INVOLVED IN APRIL 21, 1967 COUP D'ETAT
AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS IN POWER AT TIME OF POLYTECHNION
STUDENT RIOTS IN NOVEMBER, 1973. CARAMANLIS IN EFFORTS
TO REBUILD COHESIVE AND DISCIPLINED ARMED FORCES WILL
SEEK TO IMPOSE MEASURES AND PUNISHMENTS AS ADJUDICATED
IN MANNER LEAST DISRUPTIVE TO MORALE OF MILITARY
WHILE AT SAME TIME TAMPING DOWN LIBERAL/LEFTIST
DEMAND FOR FULL "DEJUNTIZATION" IN ALL ASPECTS OF
PUBLIC LIFE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 ATHENS 001

13. RECTIFYING THE DISAFFECTION OF YOUTH/STUDENTS THROUGH MILITARY YEARS WILL ALSO REQUIRE PRIORITY ATTENTION, AND THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT CARAMANLIS CAN EXPECT TO DRAW SUPPORT FROM THIS QUARTER. STUDENT ACTIVISTS TEND TO REGARD CARAMANLIS AND HIS ASSOCIATES AS TOO CONSERVATIVE TO MEET THE NEED OF GREEK SOCIETY FOR RESTRUCTURING. IN THE MANNER OF STUDENTS EVERYWHERE THEY ARE CASTING ABOUT FOR NEW DIRECTIONS IN BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY AND BELIEVE, SIMPLISTICALLY, THAT ONLY NEW LEADERS CAN POINT THE WAY. ACADEMIC REFORM IS LONG OVERDUE, AND WHILE GOG'S IMPLEMENTATION OF ANNOUNCED MAJOR EDUCATION CHANGES WILL HELP, THE PROCESS OF HEALING BREACH BETWEEN YOUTH AND NATIONAL LEADERSHIP WILL REQUIRE TIME. MORAL LEADERSHIP, AN ELUSIVE PHENOMENON, GIVEN THE POLITICS OF FAVORITISM, NEPOTISM AND CRONYISM PREVIOUSLY CHARACTERISTIC IN THIS COUNTRY, WILL HAVE TO BE PROVEN IF STUDENT AND YOUTH SUPPORT IS TO BE ACHIEVED AND THE FORCES OF RADICALISM, WHETHER HEADED BY PAPANDREOU OR OTHERS EVEN FURTHER TO THE LEFT, HELD IN CHECK.

14. IN REBUILDING NATION'S REINVIGORATION OF THE PUBLIC LIFE, THE LABOR MOVEMENT IS A MATTER OF INCREASINGLY
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HIGH PRIORITY. NEW APPOINTMENTS TO MAJOR LABOR FEDERATIONS (PENDING ELECTIONS) AND TO KEY GOVERNMENT POSITIONS HAVE NOT WON LABOR'S CONFIDENCE, AND LABOR MINISTER CONSTANTINE LASKARIS WITH EUROPEAN SOCIALIST ORIENTATION DRAWS MORE SUSPICION THAN SUPPORT, AT LEAST WITH THE TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP. GREEK LABOR'S REESTABLISHMENT OF TIES WITH INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVE-

MENTS HAS ALSO BEEN LAUNCHED ON UNCERTAIN BASIS,
BUT THIS IS NOTHING NEW SINCE GREEK TRADE UNIONISM HAS
NEVER ACHIEVED REAL STATUS. PM CARAMANLIS WILL NEED TO
DEAL DIRECTLY AND DECISIVELY WITH LABOR PROBLEMS
THAT, ESPECIALLY AS THEY ARE COMPOUNDED BY ECONOMIC
DOWNTURN, CANNOT BE PUT ON ICE.

15. IN FOREIGN POLICY CARAMANLIS' MOST BURDENSOME
LEGACY IS PROBLEM OF CYPRUS WHICH WAS EXACERBATED BY
SECOND TURKISH INVASION ONLY THREE WEEKS AFTER HE
ASSUMED POWER. REBUILDING POSITIVE GREEK-TURKISH
RELATIONS WHICH PM HAS IDENTIFIED AS CRUCIAL OBJECTIVE
TO ENSURE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
WILL MEAN SALVAGING GREEK INTERESTS IN CYPRUS THROUGH
SKILLFUL MANAGEMENT DESIGNED TO MEET LEGITIMATE
DEMANDS OF GREEK CYPRIOTS BUT BALANCE EXTERMIST AND
UNREALISTIC PROPOSALS OF MAKARIOS, AS WELL AS
RECOGNIZING BY SPECIFIC CONCESSIONS REALITIES OF
STRENGTHENED TURKISH POSITION ON ISLAND AFTER LAST
SUMMER'S DEBACLE. GOG ATTITUDE IN RECENT WEEKS
CONFIRMS SINCERITY AND DETERMINATION OF CARAMANLIS IN
SEEKING WORKABLE SOLUTION TO CYPRUS PROBLEM. AS A
PRAGMATIST HE MAY NOT EXPECT A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT TO
ADVANCE MEASURABLY HIS OWN POLITICAL POSITION, BUT AT
SAME TIME HE WILL NOT ACCEPT SOLUTION DETRIMENTAL TO
NATIONAL INTERESTS OR WHICH COULD UNDERMINE GREECE'S
FUTURE FREEDOM TO PURSUE ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS IN
AEGEAN AS, FOR EXAMPLE, IN EXPLOITING ITS PUTATIVE
OIL RESOURCES.

16. WE ANTICIPATE U.S./GREEK RELATIONS WILL PASS THROUGH
A DIFFICULT TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IN THE COMING YEAR,
AS WE TACKLE JOB OF PUTTING OUR MILITARY COOPERATION ON
A NEW FOOTING AND SEEK A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT THAT WILL
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REDUCE THE DESTABILIZING EFFECTS OF GREEK-TURKISH
ANTAGONISM IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. WITH
INTELLIGENT MANAGEMENT THESE PROBLEMS ARE SOLUBLE
AND THE LONGER-RANGE PROSPECTS FOR CLOSE AND
MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL U.S. GREEK RELATIONS ARE
FAVORABLE.

17. SEPARATE CABLE COVERS ECONOMIC PROSPECTS. KUBISCH

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